THE LATE
OCCURRENCES
IN
NORTH AMERICA,
AND
POLICY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN,
CONSIDERED.

Tantane vos generis tenuit Fiducia Veſtri?
Jam Cœlum Terramq: meo ſine numine, Venti,
Miſcere, et tantas auditis tollere Moles?
Quos Ego, *Sed Motos præſtat componere Fluctus.*

VIRG.

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THE

OCCURRENCES, &c.

THE Britiſh colonies in North America were originally eſtabliſhed by Engliſhmen, who fled thither from the enthuſiaſm, tyranny, uſurpation and bigotry, which at different times diſtracted this kingdom; as Engliſhmen, they had a right to the liberties of this nation, and were under the bond of allegiance to it, whereſoever they went. The charters granted to them by ſeveral of our kings, reſerve the one, and confirm the other.

Theſe charters appear to ſome people illegal, and beyond the power of the crown to grant; but, to judge rightly of them, we muſt carry our thoughts back to former times, when the crown had, or pretended to have, all power of government, even of

this kingdom, veſted in itſelf; and had an undoubted ſovereignty over, and right of diſpoſition, of all conqueſts or acquiſitions whatſoever; and beſides, the nature of America was ſuch, that no encouragement could be too great to allure people to thoſe countries and climates, which were then ſo inhoſpitable; but, whether theſe charters are legal or not, ought by no means be queſtioned *now*; for upon the faith of them many people embarked their lives and fortunes, and, taking up their reſidence in the wilds of America, eſtabliſhed colonies, and extended thereby the trade of Great Britain to its preſent greatneſs.

The colonies are ſecured by theſe charters from the deſpotiſm of the crown, of whom they are perhaps as independant, as the inhabitants of Great Britain can be. But from this claim of independance of the crown, which the coloniſts inſiſt on, reſults the neceſſity of a dependance on ſome other power;—ſound policy, the nature of government and modern colonization require it.—This power muſt be the parliament of Great Britain, which hath, and ought to have, the full and abſolute ſovereignty over all the Britiſh dominions.

If this ſovereignty ſeems lately to have been called in queſtion, it ought by no means to be imputed to the ſpirit of diſloy-

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alty or independance, but to thoſe errors which the beſt-intentioned men ſometimes fall into; for evidently ſeeing the futility of thoſe reaſons, which are generally thrown out to prove the right of the ſovereignty of parliament, they have been unhappily led to doubt the right itſelf.

They proteſt againſt the principles of the writers on the laws of nature and nations, as deſtructive of all liberty; the writers on the civil law they conſider as the tools of power; and the writers and expoſitors of the common law of this land had not, they ſay, the colonies of Great Britain in contemplation, when they delivered thoſe *dicta*, which are diſingenuouſly made uſe of againſt them.

They acknowledge, that the people of Great Britain may be either actually or virtually repreſented in parliament, but deny that the colonies can in any manner be conſidered in that light: the putting them on the ſame footing with Birmingham, Manchester, and Leeds, rich and flouriſhing towns, when an argument is to be raiſed againſt their liberties, and denying them in the ſame breath, the right of Old Sarum, Aldborough, and fifty other impoveriſhed boroughs, is moſt ridiculous and unfair. The comparing them to copyholders, formerly in the vileſt bondage, and therefore particularly excluded the leaſt ſhare in go-

vernment, they conſider as an inſult; the treating them as women, as infants, and the dregs of the city of London, is a plain declaration of your opinion, that they are without property and integrity, will or capacity, to reconcile them to the want of repreſentation. You tell them, not one third of the kingdom is repreſented; but they deny it, and inſiſt with Mr. Blakſtone, in his late maſterly performance, "that ſuch "*only* are entirely excluded from the right "of voting, as can have no will of their "own, and that there is hardly a "free agent to be found, but what is "entitled to a vote in ſome place or other "in this kingdom." Have we, ſay the Americans, no wills of our own? Are we not free agents? but could it be proved, that not one third part of the kingdom have a right of voting, yet it would not avail, unleſs you ſhewed at the ſame time, that the intereſts of all the kingdom was not the ſame; that the repreſentatives of the third part of the kingdom had no knowledge of, and therefore neglected or injured the intereſts of the other two; you muſt ſhew likewiſe, that the intereſts of minors and women, copyholders and the loweſt handycraft man in the kingdom, are not interwoven with the intereſts of every family and man in the kingdom; you muſt ſhew too, that minors and women

have no relations, and that their eſtates give them no influence; that the ſame man who was a copyholder, might not have freehold lands; and that a tax upon trade is not felt by any but the merchant and manufacturer.

The comparing them to Jerſey and Guernſey, the miſerable remains of your Norman dominion, and mere appendages of the crown, cannot ſubject them to the ſame laws; and that even Ireland itſelf, which is looked upon as a conquered country, ought not to be mentioned as a rule for your conduct towards the colonies, which were originally eſtabliſhed by Engliſhmen, with aſſurances of the fulleſt enjoyment of liberty. But that, with regard to Ireland itſelf, tho' the ſovereignty of the parliament of Great Britain over it is plainly aſſerted, yet you are very cautious in the exerciſe of it, particularly with reſpect to internal taxation.

Theſe reaſons, which are generally urged as a ſufficient ground for eſtabliſhing the right of the ſupremacy of the parliament of Great Britain over the colonies, not being quite ſatisfactory to the Americans, they have been led to queſtion the right itſelf, and conſidering the grounds thereof, and the principles of the Britiſh conſtitution, they have taught themſelves to think,

That whatever affects all, ſhould be debated by all, ſo that knowledge and mutual intereſt

intereſt will prevent miſtakes and partiality; that it is not to be imagined every repreſentative of the people of Great-Britain has a knowledge of America, for tho' they may have taken much pains in croſſing the Alps, and had much pleaſure in converſing with the Ciceroni of Rome, yet it is poſſible they may be entirely unacquainted with the condition of New England, and the nature of lumber. That if a tax is laid on any branch of buſineſs, or upon a particular part of Great Britain, a knowledge can be ſoon had of the propriety and expediency of it: that the intereſts and condition of America is but little known: that no impoſition can be laid on one part of the kingdom, without affecting the reſt: that the taxing America falls ſolely upon that country, without affecting Great Britain, which aſſumes that power for its own peculiar eaſe and emolument, which is not a very delicate light to conſider this country in. That countries and places, which have particular intereſts to ſupport, ought to be repreſented in parliament: that it was on this principle the two Univerſities had the power given them of electing members; and that if a body of people are to be taxed by laws, which they have actually no ſhare in making, the ſame miſchiefs will enſue which are marked in the preamble to 34 and 35 H. viii. c. 13. which gave a right to the city of Cheſter of chuſing repreſentatives,

preſentatives, " That the inhabitants there-
" of have been oftentimes touched and
" grieved with acts and ſtatutes made with-
" in the ſaid court of parliament, as well
" derogatory unto the moſt antient juriſ-
" diction, liberties, and privileges thereof,
" as prejudicial unto the *common weal, qui-*
" *etneſs, and peace*, of his Majeſty's ſub-
" jects."

If then the ſovereignty of the parliament of Great Britain over the colonies is founded on policy of government, and not on the principles which demand the ſubmiſſion of the inhabitants of Great Britain to the laws, namely, their conſent to them, as either actually or virtually repreſented in the making of them, it behoves thoſe who have this right to be particularly attentive in the exerciſe of it. And for that purpoſe, it is their eſſential duty not to deſpiſe the colonies, but to attain the beſt knowledge of them in their power: not to conſider them as a ſet of vagabonds and tranſports, but an induſtrious, honeſt, and free people.

And in a word, not to adopt any ſyſtem of partiality or prejudice, of ſuſpicion or contempt, the marks of a wicked and weak miniſtry, but in all inſtances to treat them with tenderneſs and liberality as fellow ſubjects, and be convinced and act accordingly, that the intereſts of Great Britain, and its American colonies, are inſeperable, and that

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the advantages of the one will not be eventually promoted, if the intereſts of the other are ſacrificed to low and temporary expedients, and on the ſpur of particular occaſions.

Should this ever be the caſe, we ought not to be ſurpriſed they ſhould loudly complain and boldly proteſt againſt being made the property of an unpopular miniſter, who, unable to raiſe the neceſſary ſupplies in Great Britain, ſhould ſeize on the friendleſs and unſupported Americans, and propoſing plans of œconomy to this country, and pretending an extraordinary ſagacity into future events, ſhould form a ſyſtem deſtructive of public confidence, and the commercial intereſts of both countries.

But it is urged, that however this right of parliament is founded, the Americans openly declare againſt it; and inſolently claiming an independency, they are guilty of treaſon, and ought to be treated as rebels.

But nothing can be more unadviſeable than the making uſe of opprobrious expreſſions, and the utmoſt exertion of power againſt ſuppoſed action, the nature and complexion of which we have no authoritative judgment of: the late occurrences in North America are of that kind, we neither can, nor ought to give a particular name to them, until we have information of their motives:

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for ſhould we raſhly and falſly brand the conduct of any part of his Majeſty's ſubjects with odious appellations, it will appear to every one as proceeding from the malice and indignation of party: but ſhould we act ſo very injudiciouſly, as not only to call, but treat our American brethren as ſeditious, revolting, and rebellious, at a time when nothing can be farther from their thoughts, we muſt expect our want of charity in ſpeech and violence of conduct will be reſented by that ſpirit, which virtue and loyalty, once queſtioned, cannot help ſhewing. And how much would they have to anſwer for, whoſe blindneſs and obſtinacy brought on an actual defection of as beneficial and as loyal a part of the dominions of this kingdom as his Majeſty can glory in? But ſhould the colonies be really averſe to this government, and ſhould we have full proof of their inclination to fall off from that duty and affection they have hitherto ſhewed, ſeverity and rigour would be exerted even then too ſoon, if we heard not their grievances, and cordially endeavoured to give a reaſonable ſatisfaction to their juſt complaints; for tho' we live in ſociety, we muſt attend to the feelings of nature; and as we live in a land of liberty, we muſt make ſome allowances even for the groundleſs reſentments of freemen.—Our news papers and coffee-houſe politicians have been lately full of invectives

againſt the diſpoſition and conduct of the Americans, and uſing foul mouthed reproach, and inſtigating the moſt violent methods, ſeem to be endeavouring to drive matters to the worſt and laſt extremity, a civil war: and yet the ſame news papers and coffee-houſe politicians, not long ſince, made uſe of every plauſible turn, and every palliative, to excuſe, nay, to juſtify the chicanery of the French, in not paying the Canada bills; and the want of honour and humanity of the Spaniards, in refuſing to diſcharge the ranſom of Manilla. Theſe two nations were lately declared enemies to Great Britain, and will ever be the oppoſers of her intereſts; and yet we treated both with tenderneſs, politeneſs, and condeſcention, becauſe we were by all means to avoid a war, though nothing can be worſe policy than to preſerve the public repoſe by yielding any point of intereſt or honour. What can we think of ſuch men and ſuch politics? they paſs over unnoticed the open violations of ſolemn treaties, and blacken with ſcurrility and ignominy actions and men, whoſe motives and temper they are groſsly ignorant of. A war is to be carefully avoided, in their opinion, with aliens, and the eternal enemies and rivals of this kingdom, but to be immediately entered into, and purſued with rigour and vengeance againſt its deſcendants and ſubjects. A civil war is perhaps

haps in their notions leſs injurious to the happineſs and intereſts of a people than a national one; but I hope Great Britain will never be governed by ſuch men, and ſuch politics; the preſent times, I am ſure, do not require ſuch councils.

The critical ſituation we are in demands deliberation and tenderneſs, and not raſhneſs and violence; we ought to act diſpaſſionately for the mutual intereſts of both countries, and not in a ſpirit of party to the public confuſion. We ought to conſider the object for which our colonies were eſtabliſhed, and how far it has been purſued and encouraged, or neglected and ruined; we ought to be fully acquainted with the temper and condition of thoſe who compoſe them, and of what benefit they have been, and what diſpoſition they have had hitherto to this kingdom; but we ought above all things to weigh in our minds, over and over again, the probable and poſſible conſequences of treating thoſe as enemies who have it in their power to be our moſt beneficial friends: we muſt conſider, whether the terror of arms ever convinced the judgment, and conciliated the affections, and whether the Americans can, or will, ever be cordially united to you, if moderation, the beſt means of governing, is called puſillanimity, and looked upon as below the dignity of autho-

rity. Should compulſory means be determined on as abſolutely neceſſary to quiet the Americans, the die is caſt, *aut Cæſar aut nullus*. Every man of the leaſt experience in Great Britain knows the conſequence; every man in America trembles at it; it will be the ruin of both countries. It is probable indeed, conſidering the weakneſs of the Americans, that Great Britain will come off triumphant in the conteſt, but the victory will be truly deplorable. Should it be doubtful for any time, that alone will make you repent your recourſe to violence; but ſhould you ſucceed at laſt, all confidence and cordiality being interrupted, you neither can, nor will, treat the Americans for the future as ſubjects, but will reduce them to the moſt implicit obedience. But remember, that though the Americans are naturally good ſubjects, they will ever be bad ſlaves, the difficulty will be great to keep them in the irkſome ſtate of ſervility, and the expence and watchfulneſs neceſſary for it will entirely exhauſt you: for though the Engliſh, as it is ſaid, will, when they ceaſe to be freemen, be the moſt abject ſlaves the Americans, on the contrary, ſhould they now be reduced to that miſerable ſtate, will ever retain a ſpirit for, and longing after liberty; and the difference between the temper of the two people in this deplorable event, will be owing to the different cauſes

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which produce it. Whenever the people of this iſland ceaſe to be free, it will be when they are ſo thoroughly corrupted, as baſely to betray their own rights, and become willing ſlaves; but the Americans now have the independance which a bountiful nature gives, and the ſtrongeſt ſenſe of liberty; and therefore force alone can deprive them of their enjoyment of it. I ſaid it was probable that Great Britain would at laſt be triumphant, but it is poſſible that her moſt vigorous efforts may be baffled; notwithſtanding the greatneſs of her power, and the weakneſs of America.

Every war is doubtful, power has frequently ruined itſelf by confidence, and weakneſs grown ſtrong by deſpair. Hiſtory affords many examples to prove the truth of this obſervation: the eſtabliſhment of the United Provinces, about two hundred years ago, is an inconteſtable one; and is well worthy of our particular attention at this time; for it will enable us to obſerve the conſequences of weak or violent councils, of corrupt or ill conduct, of faction or obſtinacy, which weakens and diſſolves the firmeſt government; and if our condition is ſo critical, as to confound even the beſt heads and beſt hearts in the kingdom, in determining what ought to be done, to extricate us from our difficulties; the riſe and progreſs of the diſturbances in the Low

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Countries will inſtruct us at leaſt in the negative kind of knowledge, of what ought not to be done. Some people may, perhaps, imagine, that the wiſdom, thus attained, is at beſt very uncertain; for tho' all things are poſſible, and what has been, may be; yet hardly any one thinks he is liable to the ſame miſery another has fallen into, becauſe a change in time, fortune, condition, and a variety of other circumſtances, make him an exception to the former rule. But the truth is, that ſo long as human nature continues what it is, the ſame cauſes will generally produce the ſame effects; at leaſt it will be conſiſtent with human prudence, to conduct ourſelves as if they would, when the circumſtances of the times are ſuch, as to leave us no other rule to go by.

The Spaniſh monarchy was, about the year 1559, when the peace of Cambray was made, the moſt reſpected power in Europe. Spain, the Milaneſe, the Two Sicilies, the Low Countries, and the new diſcovered World, were the formidable members of it: the ambition of France was checked, it held Italy in awe, and England was ſubſervient to its purpoſes; conſiderable acquiſitions were made by the peace, beſides the particular objects of the war.

Thus circumſtanced, Spain had nothing to do but, by cultivating the arts of peace, eſtabliſh its extenſive empire on the firmeſt foun-

foundation. But, unfortunately, the peace of Cambray, which reſtored quiet to all the declared enemies of Spain, produced animoſities, civil diſſentions, and open ruptures amongſt her own ſubjects, to the miſery of individuals, and diſmemberment of the empire.

The means by which this ſignal ruin was brought about, may be worth inveſtigating. The firſt blow given to it, came from a quarter the leaſt expected, from its weakneſs and former loyalty of conduct towards Spain. But there is nothing ſo unlikely, which particular accidents may not produce; and the greateſt empires have fallen, by means apparently the moſt contemptible.

The Low Countries, which were divided with many ſtates, with diſtinct governments, were over-run by the northern nations, who ravaged the greateſt part of Europe, particularly the Saxons, who, fierce in arms, eſtabliſhed and maintained freedom whereſoever they went; for, fighting without pay, and not for the ambition of another, they conquered for themſelves, and were therefore attentive to ſecure the public liberty againſt the artifice or violence of thoſe who might claim a ſuperiority over them. As they were bred to arms, they never forgot the uſe of them, and kept themſelves free thereby from open inſults; and, leſt cunning and time ſhould injure

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their rights, they claimed and exerciſed the greateſt liberties; and, amongſt the reſt, the right of determiding diſputes about the ſucceſſion of their princes, when doubtful or controverted; and deciding thoſe between the ſeveral towns, of raiſing a militia for defence of their countries, in a war amongſt their neighbours; of adviſing, in time of danger abroad, or diſcontents at home; and upon any new impoſition that was neceſſary upon the people: the uſe of the free aſſemblies was another of thoſe liberties, whereof the inhabitants of thoſe provinces were fond and tenacious. Theſe rights ſeem to be eſſential to contribute them freemen, but there were other conceſſions and graces from their princes who ruled over them, which, being once granted, they had a full and complete title to.

Their wars, which were generally ſhort, were with princes and competitors of their own ſize and ſtrength, unleſs indeed they fell into the quarrels of England and France, and then they were engaged on the ſkirts only, the groſs of it being waged between the two kings, and their ſmaller ſtates were made uſe of for the commodiouſneſs of a diverſion, rather than any great weight they might have in the main of the affair.

The mighty growth of the commerce of this extenſive country {attributed by Commines to the goodneſs of the princes, and

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the eaſe and ſafety of the people) enabled Spain, into whoſe hands it came, to be a match for France. Philip of Burgundy eſpecially was a wiſe and good prince, loved by his ſubjects, and eſteemed by his enemies; and taking his meaſures ſo well upon the decline of the Engliſh greatneſs abroad, by their diſſentions at home, ended his quarrels in France, by a ſafe and honourable peace; "ſo that he took," Sir William Temple ſays, "no pretence from "his greatneſs, or his wars, to change any "thing in the form of his government;" but Charles, the Hardy, aſked frequent and heavy contributions, which, gained at firſt by the credit of his father's government, and his own great deſigns, but at length rendered his people diſcontented, and himſelf diſeſteemed and unfortunate. In the time of Maximilian, ſeveral bodies of German troops were brought down into Flanders for their defence againſt France; and in the time of Charles V. a much greater number of Spaniards and Italians were introduced on the ſame account; but theſe demands of money, and theſe grievances by the introduction of ſoldiers, gave occaſion to no diſturbances at firſt, for Charles was of a generous and gentle nature, and dying, left to Philip the Second the Seventeen Provinces, in a condition as peaceable and loyal as either prince or ſubject could deſire; but

being ſoon treated with various marks of contempt and diſtruſt, and the foreign ſoldiers and thoſe exactions which the war had made neceſſary, and therefore readily ſubmitted to, being continued, the inhabitants of the Provinces withdrew that affection and attachment they had hitherto ſhewed upon all occaſions.

The government of the Low Countries being beneath the immediate conſideration of the Auſtrian greatneſs, the whole was devolved on the Dutcheſs of Parma, aſſiſted by the *Cardinal de Granville*, who being the adviſer of the continuation of the foreign troops and exactions of money for their ſupport, was looked upon as the chief promoter or inſtrument of their oppreſſions, and not of their defence, when a general peace had left them no enemies to fear.

The people complained with a general conſent and paſſion, and the States enforced their complaints by concurring with them; but all uneaſineſs and remonſtrances being diſregarded, the provinces firſt contriving various delays, abſolutely refuſed at laſt to raiſe any more money for the pay of the Spaniſh troops; and ſuch was the univerſal deſpair, that, neglecting their dikes, they declared they had rather be drowned by the ſea, than held in ſubjection by the foreign forces.

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This ſpirit of the people, alarming the court, the troops were recalled, and thereby the public tranquility reſtored.

But it was interrupted in the year 1565, by the reſolution that was taken to annul all the laws, impoſe arbitrary taxes, create new biſhops, with their ſpiritual courts, and judges, at the will of the king, or pope, and above all to eſtabliſh the Inquiſition, that extraordinary court of judicature, contrary to the ancient laws and cuſtoms of the country, and which they could not introduce into Milan or Naples; and, to ſum up the whole, all theſe violations of public and private liberty, of temporal and ſpiritual rights, were to be aſſerted aud maintained by the hangman and foreign troops; means which, Sir William Temple ſays, "are "commonly made uſe of to ſuppreſs civil "commotions, but were, in this inſtance, "the occaſion of their breaking out in "Flanders."

For the principal lords meeting together at Bruſſels, repreſented their rights and infringements thereof to the Governeſs.—"This congreſs," ſays Voltaire," "was "called a conſpiracy at Madrid, but was "conſidered in the Low Countries as a "moſt lawful act; and it is certain the "confederates were not rebels."—Their petitions being liſtened to, and the rigour of the edicts about religion and the In-

quiſition being remitted, all noiſe of diſcontent and tumult was appeaſed, and the governeſs was both obeyed and honoured.

But it being ſoon after diſcovered, that the blackeſt deſigns were formed by the court of Madrid, who diſavowed the former moderation and juſtice, the provinces were ſtruck with aſtoniſhment; but that ſoon gave way to rage, which began to appear in their looks, their ſpeech, their bold meetings and libels, and was increaſed by the miſerable ſpectacle of innumerable executions. And what added inſult to oppreſſion was, Philips inſiſted that he was abſolved from thoſe oaths, whereby he confirmed their liberties, by the ſupreme power of the Pope. "This reaſon (ſays Voltaire) "might poſſibly have great weight with "Roman Catholics, but naturally enraged "the Proteſtants, and confirmed them in "their diſaffection."

In the beginning of the year 1566, there appeared in the citizens an open contempt of authority; executions were hindered, officers abuſed, and priſons forced. This was followed by a confederacy of the Lords never to ſuffer the inquiſition in the Low Countries, as contrary to all laws, ſacred and prophane, and exceeding the cruelty of former tyranny. Upon which, all reſolution of force or rigour growing unſafe for government, the Ducheſs of Parma was obliged

obliged to uſe gentle methods, and promiſe, with the concurrence of the court of Spain, a full redreſs of grievances; but whether a redreſs was never intended, or from the dilaterineſs of Spaniſh councils was deferred too long, it certainly came too late; the flame broke out, and the revolt appeared univerſal.

But the richer and more prudent men of the provinces, particularly the Prince of Orange, and the Counts Egmont and Horne, feeling the ill effects, and abhorring the rage of popular tumults, as the worſt miſchief that can befall any ſtate, exerted their utmoſt vigour, loyalty, and that influence which the public affection gave them, to appeaſe the general diſcontent; by which means, and the prudent and moderate management of the governeſs, all the provinces were reſtored to their former peace, obedience, and appearance at leaſt of loyalty.

But ſcarce was this happy event brought about, when the arrival of the Duke of Alva, with ten thouſand of the beſt Spaniſh and Italian ſoldiers, under the command of the choiceſt officers which the late war had bred up, ſtruck all the Low Countries with aſtoniſhment, ſubmiſſion, and deſpair.

The trading part of the town and country retired out of the provinces in ſuch vaſt numbers, that in a few days one hundred thouſand people, taking their money and

effects

effects, abandoned their country. "So "great antipathy ever appears (ſays Sir "William Temple) between merchants "and ſoldiers, the firſt pretending to be "ſafe under laws, which the other makes "ſubject to his ſword and his will."

The Dutcheſs of Parma, who was always for the mildeſt meaſures, thought the public tranquility ought not to be diſturbed by new oppreſſions, nor the royal authority leſſened by being made a party to a war againſt its ſubjects, conſtantly diſſuaded againſt the preſent conduct; but her advice being diſregarded, ſhe retired from the government of the Low Countries, not chuſing to be anſwerable for meaſures ſo pernicious to the public intereſt.

The provinces had demanded, ſome time before, the recall of the Cardinal de Granville, who returning to Madrid, hated by, and hating the country he came from, influenced the court in all its meaſures, and the Duke of Alva, inveſted with unuſual powers, exerciſed them accordingly with the utmoſt rigour in violation of the laws of the country and humanity, and to the diſhonour of the King, and the ruin of the Auſtrian greatneſs.

The miſery which theſe councils introduced are ſo ſhocking, that we cannot read of them, even at this day, without horror and deteſtation.

"The

" The towns (ſays Sir William Temple)
" ſtomached the breach of their charters;
" the people of their liberties; the Knights
" of the Golden Fleece the charter of their
" order; all complain of the new and odi-
" ous courts of judicature; of the diſuſe of
" the ſtates, and introduction of the forces;
" but all in vain, the King was conſtant to
" what he had determined, the Duke of
" Alva was in his nature cruel and exora-
" ble; the new army was fierce, brave, and
" deſirous of nothing more than a rebellion
" in that country; the people were in a
" rage, but awed and unheaded; all was
" ſeizure and proceſs, confiſcation and pu-
" niſhment, blood and horror, inſolence
" and dejection, puniſhments executed, and
" meditated revenge."

The council of Blood, which Alva had eſtabliſhed, ſoon lopt off the leſſer branches, but the greater took longer time in hewing down; but at length the Counts Egmont and Horne, notwithſtanding their merits to the crown of Spain, and earneſt ſollicitations from all quarters in their favour, were ſacrificed to the ſpirit of pride, cruelty, and diſtruſt.—Their blood was the firſt cement of the republic of the united provinces.

William Prince of Orange, an anceſtor of our great deliverer, finding his life ſought after, fled into Germany, being unable, without one foot of land, and without men

or

or money, to oppoſe his country's enemy—but perſecution ſupplied him with every thing, it collected friends, it raiſed contributions, it gave reſentment, and that inveterate courage called deſpair, but being weak he was hardly ever ſucceſsful againſt his potent enemies, who inſulted over the liberties of his country in the groſſeſt manner, and moved with no remorſe, and terrified by no threats from a broken, divided, and unarmed people, and thinking forms and meaſures were not now neceſſary to be obſerved, demanded a general tax of the hundredth part of each man's property to be raiſed immediately, and for the time to come the twentieth of all immoveables, and the tenth of what was ſold.—"It was wonderful (ſays "Voltaire) that the maſter of Mexico and "Peru ſhould be thus impoveriſhed, as to "ſtand in need of ſuch taxes."—This rapacity and injuſtice compleats the general diſſatisfaction, the popular fury is almoſt incredible, the ſluices are opened regardleſs of themſelves, ſo that the enemy is overwhelmed, the women liſt in companies, repair breeches, give alarms, and beat up quarters; the Duke of Alva in return ſlaughters innocent perſons of both ſexes without remorſe, and both ſides give into the moſt horrid practices and returns of ignomy, cruelty, and ſcorn—the unavoidable conſequences of civil diſſention—but this is

a ſcene

a ſcene too dreadful to be long dwelt on. In ſhort, therefore, the Auſtrian greatneſs, after having tried every method which force, policy, and wickedneſs could ſuggeſt to reduce its revolted ſubjects, was obliged at laſt to treat with, and acknowledge them, in the moſt humiliating manner, as a free and independent people.

It is not to be imagined however, that natural courage, or even deſpair, could have brought the affairs of the united provinces to this fortunate concluſion, if they had not been ſometimes underhand and at other times openly aſſiſted and ſupported by the other powers of Europe, who envied or dreaded the greatneſs, which Spain had attained to by the peace of Cambray.

Many obſervations might be made on this detail of the riſe and progreſs of the diſturbances in the Low Countries; one is moſt obvious, which is: That the impoſing taxes and introducing troops into the country, when a general peace made both unneceſſary, were the firſt grounds of diſcontent, which was fermented by eſtabliſhing biſhopricks and judicatures, unknown to the antient laws and cuſtoms, and queſtioning at the ſame time thoſe rights and charters which the people claimed from their former princes; but that the general uneaſineſs, occaſioned by this conduct, might have been eaſily appeaſed, if the miſtakes in government had

been corrected in time: The dutcheſs of Parma, wiſe and moderate in her diſpoſition, adviſed it; but the cardinal de Granville, thinking his reputation for integrity, ſagacity and knowledge, depended on the proſecution of thoſe meaſures he had formerly adviſed, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed every mitigation, and inſiſted on the vigorous execution of the edicts.—This violence the times would not bear—and therefore the loſs of the United Provinces, with their extenſive and beneficial trade, muſt be imputed to this *one man*.

A ſerious conſideration of this remarkable event in hiſtory ought to alarm thoſe, who now ſeem eagerly bent to drive things to extremities. But perhaps, however paſſionate they may appear in ſpeech, they are in their own natures timorous, and would be fearful of anſwering for the effects and conſequences of thoſe violent councils which they give to others. Should this be the caſe, their conduct muſt be imputed to the rage and indignation of party and diſappointed ambition. It is in vain then we trouble ourſelves with ſuch men, but let us rather apply to thoſe whoſe principles are founded on liberty, and are guided by moderation; and thoſe who have inclination as well as abilities to extricate this kingdom and its dominions from their preſent confuſion and miſerable condition.

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The diſcontent and uneaſineſs, ſo univerſal amongſt his Majeſty's ſubjects in North-America, cannot but have the worſt effects on the intereſts of both countries; it would therefore be the honeſt part of all the ſubjects, on both ſides of the Atlantic, to endeavour to appeaſe the preſent ferment: For ſhould it be increaſed, or even be kept up to the pitch it now is at, the conſequences will be moſt ruinous. If it ariſes from the ſpirit of abſolute independance, that ſpirit ought to be checked; but if from an injudicious conduct and hard and undeſerved treatment from this country, that conduct and treatment ought to be changed.

The loyalty of the American colonies, has, till very lately, been unimpeached; they have diligently laboured for you in peace, and zealouſly co-operated with you in war; deſcended from this country, they have the ſtrongeſt attachment to it; and cloſely connected with it, all their produce centers here; they glory in the ſame king, have the ſame religion, and claim a right to the ſame liberties. Theſe are ſtrong motives of affection to you, but ſhould theſe ties be looſened, the difficulty of ſucceeding in the attempt of independency is ſo great, that nothing but the moſt unhappy times can force them to venture on it; but, I muſt confeſs, the beſt ſecurity this country can have of the obedience of the Americans, is their con-

viction of your good intentions towards them; for deſpair will give ſupernatural ſtrength.

Weak as they really are, ſhould ever their fidelity be ſhaken, they will ſoon become ſtrong by the malicious aſſiſtance of your rival neighbours, who will offer their ſervice with eagerneſs to your revolting ſubjects, and then contending with the powers of Europe, and with enemies ſtill more hoſtile, becauſe, actuated by deſpair, the event will be doubtful.

However, the imagination of thoſe people, who think that America will one day or other be independant of Great-Britain, is certainly not groundleſs.

But this is no ſufficient reaſon for fear, for this independance can hardly be brought about until ſome general calamity falls on Europe, or the protection which the colonies now claim from their ſeveral mother countries, is denied, or unable to be given from the particular diſtreſſes at home, power is ſubject to change; it is the natural courſe of things. The grandeur of the Roman empire is annihilated, and this iſland, formerly a province to it, and looked upon as almoſt out of the world, has a greater dominion than Rome ever prided itſelf in, and is now the centre of riches and authority. May it ever continue ſo! Nothing but its own bad policy can prevent it, the fear

of

of evils may produce them, as the dread of death frequently puts a period to life.

There are indeed a ſet of men, who from dullneſs being totally ignorant of the colonies, or from pride, aſhamed to have a knowledge of them, talk of what *we*, for ſuch is their language, have done for them; what money *we* have ſpent; what blood *we* have laviſhed; and what trouble *we* have had in eſtabliſhing and protecting them to this day; and after a thouſand ſuch ſelf applauſes, declaiming againſt the baſeneſs ingratitude and rebellion of an obſtinate, ſenſeleſs and abandoned ſet of convicts, declare, if they had the government, they would—they know not what they would—Theſe therefore ſo preſuming and uninformed, it muſt be confeſſed, the Americans acknowledging only the authority of the parliament of Great-Britain, diſclaim even now all ſubordination.

The duties of a mother country and its colonies are reciprocal; the one expects encouragement and protection, and the other claims and ſecures to itſelf every advantage that an extenſive commerce can produce. I will not make any compariſon between Great-Britain and her American ſettlements, or ſay which of them has been moſt attentive to the diſcharge of their ſeveral duties. It would irritate perhaps one ſide or other; and this is not my inclination or deſign, but

the Americans ought not to be accuſed of ingratitude, the exports and imports of Great-Britain will free them from that charge. If it is expected they ſhould for the future protect themſelves, it will, I am afraid, give them at leaſt that independance of mind, which a man, who hopes for no favours, generally has. It is poſſible indeed they may feel your coolneſs towards them in a worſe light: for recollecting the immenſe ſums of money you have ſpent in the defence of the Germans, Dutch, and Portugueſe, and indeed of almoſt all the other nations of Europe they think they have an equal right to your protection.

You have entered, ſay they, into the wars of theſe aliens to ſupport a fanciful balance of power, and that too with a profuſion of blood and money which has aſtoniſhed Europe; but repine at, and grudge the expence of defending your brethren, and your eſſential commercial intereſts in America. It is perhaps difficult for an Engliſhman to account for this conduct upon the common principles which actuate the world; but the Americans imagine they ſee the grounds of it.

The miniſtry of Great Britain, they ſay, being taken up with the more arduous affairs of Germany, and the ſtruggles of parties at home, neglected America; the value of which was unknown until France gave

you

you an idea of it, by endeavouring to take it from you. This rouſed the Britiſh nation, who, immediately ſeeing its importance, thought *ea neglecta civitas ſtare non poſſit.* The war, thus undertaken for the defence of your eſſential intereſts, was proſecuted with vigor, and its conſequential ſucceſs gave you a right to demand much more than the original objects of it. The Americans, who had exerted themſelves to the utmoſt, as in a public cauſe they were bound to, flattered themſelves that the peace would have enabled them to recover their ſtrength, by eſtabliſhing and extending their trade, which had been almoſt ruined during the courſe of the war; but unhappily for them, ſcarce had hoſtilities ceaſed againſt France and Spain, the declared enemies of Great Britain, but the cry was—INTUS EST HOSTIS.

We at once became ſeized with fear and jealouſy of our fellow ſubjects in America; for, viewing a map made on a large ſcale, we found them ſeated on an extenſive continent, which, we heard, nature had done much for, and which we dreaded, leaſt time ſhould eſtabliſh into an empire of dangerous conſequence: we ſaid we had ruined ourſelves for the ſake of America, which would one day or other be the ſcourge of Europe; and that the blood we had ſhed would nouriſh a viper, which would ſting us to death. Thus, jealous of our fellow ſubjects, we repented

of

of what we had done; and, fearful of the ſtrength which ſecurity from future encroachments would naturally increaſe, it was determined, ſay the Americans, to keep the colonies in that kind of dependance which is occaſioned by weakneſs and poverty, and not in that ſubordination and obedience which ariſes from gratitude and the voluntary duties of children to parents.

It is this ſyſtem of policy, founded on our jealouſy and diſtruſt, that is the ground of the preſent diſcontent in America; for nothing can be more natural, than that jealouſy and diſtruſt on one ſide, ſhould produce on the other the ſame bad and illiberal qualities, to the interruption of the moſt cordial friendſhip, and breach of the ſtrongeſt duties.

It is to this policy they impute the ruin of the Spaniſh trade, by the royal navy of Great Britain acting in the ſpirit of the Guarda Coſtas of Spain. It is true indeed the impropriety of this conduct was ſeen when we found it muſt ultimately affect ourſelves; and, therefore, though the act is ſtill in force, the execution of it is ſuſpended; but the condition of the Americans is bad indeed, for the blow aimed at them, took place! and the dagger remaining rankles in the wound.

The rumour of quartering ſoldiers on private houſes, on the ſtale plea of neceſſity, which

which may be urged, and generally is ſo, to juſtify the worſt actions; the erecting of civil law courts; the eſtabliſhing of an army, when all danger of an enemy is removed; the reaſons which are generally urged for laying taxes on the colonies, namely, that the war was undertaken on their account; that Great Britain is exhauſted, and that America is enriched by it, and therefore ought to pay its proportionate ſhare, have alarmed them greatly, and given them fears which make them jealous of every ſtep you take. They inſiſt, if ever Great Britain had a war peculiarly her own, the laſt was; her eſſential and not fanciful intereſts being deeply concerned in it; and that it was as little undertaken for America, as that you ſent forces to Portugal for the ſake of that kingdom: they deny that Great Britain was exhauſted by it, notwithſtanding her pretended, or even real want of money: the pretended want was raiſed by the clamour of party and ſtock-jobbers, and the real one was owing, not to a decay, but increaſe of trade, which your unparalleled ſucceſs occaſioned, demanded greater capitals than uſual. They declare they exerted themſelves to the utmoſt they were able; that their public and private debts, and the deſtruction of their inhabitants, ſhew it; and that as they are obliged to conſume the manufactures of Great Britain, they actually, though not named by

the parliament, pay every tax which is laid on Great Britain.

I mention theſe grounds of their preſent uneaſineſs without any endeavour to ſhew their reaſonableneſs; but I muſt beg leave to inſiſt, though it ſhould be allowed, the war was undertaken merely for the ſake of the Americans, and that they had not contributed one farthing to its expence, yet that laying taxes on them is contrary to ſound policy, and the object Great Britain had in view in eſtabliſhing colonies.

The firſt conqueſts and acquiſitions made by the Romans, were made, like thoſe of the Tartars, in a ſpirit of union, who adopting or blending themſelves with thoſe whom they had lately ſubdued, fixt their foundation on the firm baſis of one inſeparable intereſt.

But as ſoon as the Romans found their empire ſufficiently ſtrengthened to enable them to act offenſively, to the diſturbance of the whole world, they poured their armies into all quarters, and conquered it, for the purpoſes of avarice and ambition. The objects they had in their view were, the glory of the Roman name, and the plunder of the reſt of mankind, for the ſole benefit of the Roman people.

The colonies eſtabliſhed by the modern European nations, in uncultivated and uncivilized countries, have had two apparent views;

views; the eſtabliſhment of the Chriſtian religion, and increaſe of dominion. Theſe objects are generally ſet forth in all their commiſſions and charters, and the firſt of them was impiouſly aſſerted by the Spaniards, to ſanctify the moſt dreadful inhumanity; the reſt of the European nations have had more religion, than to make uſe of the ſword, to inculcate the doctrine of the true God. England in particular hath acted in this reſpect with real wiſdom and piety.

The extention of dominion, the other object which the European nations had in view in eſtabliſhing colonies, ſeems, conſidering the times when they were undertaken, to imply the extention of arbitrary power; for the kings of Europe then poſſeſſed, or claimed, the moſt abſolute authority; all acquiſitions therefore, however made, belonged peculiarly to them; colonies in particular, being undertaken by commiſſions from them, ſeem to have been originally eſtabliſhed for their uſe and benefit; and ſo perhaps, conſidering the ſpirit of our laws at that time, they really would have been, even in this country, if the nature of our government had not changed, or our ſovereigns had not diveſted themſelves of thoſe powers, which the common laws of the land gave them over new acquiſitions.

But as Engliſhmen could not be allured to leave their native homes, to labour in uncultivated countries, without a full ſecurity for the enjoyment of thoſe liberties, which they had a right to from birth, the fulleſt aſſurances and moſt ample conceſſions were made to the adventurers, for their encouragement in ſo arduous an undertaking.

By theſe charters and grants the ſettlers of the New World were as free, when they croſſed the Atlantic, as they had been in this iſland; but as new-diſcovered countries and acquiſitions were the immediate property of the crown, and conſequently ſubject to its immediate government, the liberties which the inhabitants of them enjoyed, it is pretended, muſt be conſidered as mere conceſſions from the crown, and not as they are in this country, independant thereof, and coeval with prerogative itſelf; but ſhould this be the caſe, the liberties of the colonies cannot be infringed, for the crown has parted with all means of oppreſſion, by granting them every right for the ſupport of civil liberty, which this country enjoys; and as theſe grants and ſuppoſed conceſſions have been made voluntarily, for the encouragement of a brave and laborious people, they muſt have at leaſt as much force and validity, as thoſe which have been extorted and demanded in the field of battle.

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The extenſion of dominion therefore, which is one of the expreſſed objects of our eſtabliſhing colonies, cannot mean an uncontrouled power over ſlaves, but a dominion founded on freedom; and not founded for the purpoſes of ambition and vain glory of a monarch, or a partial regard to this or that country, but for the eſtabliſhment and extention of the commerce of the Britiſh dominions.

Here then is an eſſential difference, between the colonies eſtabliſhed by the Engliſh, and the countries which were conquered by the Romans; the firſt were compoſed of freemen, leaving their native homes to extend its commerce for the public good; the latter went over nations for the ſake of plunder and vain glory: the returns which one country claimed from thoſe, which were ſubject to it, were tribute and ſervility; but that which the other hath generally expected, are a liberal obedience, filial affection, and thoſe advantages which the balance of trade gives, for the benefit of *both* countries; I ſay for the benefit of *both* countries, becauſe Great Britain being enriched and ſtrengthened by it, is better enabled to give that protection which the colonies have a right to expect from her.

The Romans acted conſiſtently when they treated the conquered provinces with rapacity

city ahd inſolence for not being compoſed of Romans, but of aliens and enemies to the Roman name; they were ſubject to the will of the conquerors; Rome was itſelf alone; and therefore, diſregarding the common rights of mankind, ſhe endeavoured to ſubdue and plunder the reſt of the world for her ſole aggrandizement.

But the conduct of Great Britain ought to proceed on different principles; for as its colonies are compoſed of Engliſhmen and freemen, they ought to be treated as ſuch—the intereſts of the mother countries, and its colonies, are inſeperable—no partiality for the benefit of one to the prejudice of the other ought to be admitted; and their mutual advantage can *only* be obtained by the ſources of trade, enriching the ſeveral channels through which it flows.

It is then by trade *alone* that Great Britain, acting in a ſpirit of *true policy*, will endeavour to draw the wealth and produce of America to herſelf; all other methods will deſtroy the object for which the colonies were eſtabliſhed. If the Americans indeed, poſſeſſed of valuable mines of gold and ſilver, or a lucrative commerce, ſtill retained more than the ballance of trade drew from them, Great Britain might, perhaps, conſiſtently with ſelf-intereſt, take the overplus. But the fact is otherwiſe, all their gains and produce now centers here in the

way

way of trade, and therefore the ſyſtem of taxing them is diametrically oppoſite to the real benefit of the nation in general, though it may ſerve the purpoſe of a temporary expedient.—The Treaſury may ſwell a little, but commerce will ſhrink to nothing.

But it is better for the nation, that the riches of the Americans (if they have any) ſhould paſs through the accompting-houſes of the merchants of London, than be paid in at his Majeſty's Exchequer at Whitehall. A miniſter will propagate a different doctrine; he may, perhaps, wiſh to make the colonies a convenient property, to ſupply his want of popularity or knowledge in the reſources of the kingdom; and reaſons may be given by him for this kind of policy, ſufficient to impoſe on the generality of the nation; but it is probable the Americans will never be ſatisfied with the exertion of this kind of power, and ſubmitting to it with reluctance, will reject it whenever they are able. And, indeed, however ready we may be to eaſe ourſelves by taxing them, and reaping apparent emolument at their expence, we ſhall ſoon repent of our partiality; for however weak and wicked a future miniſter may be if this ſyſtem is adopted and purſued, the ſpirit of liberty will exert itſelf in vain againſt him; for pretending hereby to ſecure the dependency of America, he will himſelf become independent of the Com-

Commons of Great Britain, by the eaſe and facility with which he will raiſe the neceſſary ſupplies.

Cromwell, though an arbitrary ruler, and Charles the IId, a neceſſitous Prince, purſued, in this reſpect, the true intereſts of Great Britain; for notwithſtanding the extravagance of the one, and deſpotiſm of the other, they plainly ſaw, that real power, and ſubſtantial and permanent wealth, could only be attained through the channels of commerce, and that there would be a ſufficient fund eſtabliſhed for diſſipation and corruption, and the higheſt power exerciſed, by rendering the trade of the colonies ſubſervient to Great Britain; and therefore Cromwell had the ſagacity to plan, and Charles the good ſenſe to adopt the famous *act of navigation*, which the Britiſh colonies have to this time dutifully and implicitly obeyed: for though it has reduced them to a kind of political ſlavery, yet being founded on the ſoundeſt policy, they have ſubmitted to it with chearfulneſs and affection to this country; and ſo long as they do ſo, you need no other evidence of your ſovereignty over them; for let any one conſider the nature of it, and he will find it the ſtrongeſt mark and badge of ſubſerviency and dependence.

Let then the mutual, which is the real intereſt of Great Britain and her colonies, be promoted, by conſtantly purſuing

the true object for which the latter were eſtabliſhed, and let us not cut down the tree to get at the fruit. *Let us ſtroke and not ſtab the cow, for her milk, and not her blood, can give us real nouriſhment and ſtrength*; and for this purpoſe, let the *ſpirit* of the *act of navigation* (for ſound policy has long ſince varied from *the letter*) be ſtrictly adhered to; and then, however flouriſhing the commerce of America may become, either by its own efforts, or by the judicious encouragements and bounties given by this country, the whole advantage thereof muſt ultimately center here, and that without diſcontent and diſturbances, to the honour and ſatisfaction of his Majeſty, and promotion of the public good.

FINIS.

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